

# PEACE NEWS

No. 346

JANUARY 29, 1943

2d.

## Europe as a Fortress?

CYRIL HUGHES on the alleged

### "Excellent Results" of Bombing

IN a letter to a famous contemporary, the Polish Minister of Information recently made this statement: "Area bombing, target bombing, and daylight bombing are all excellent."

As Peace News is always on the look-out for anything excellent, I was sent to Elysium as this journal's representative to interview one of the "targets", Mrs. Jane Smith, of Bermondsey, who was killed with her family in a 1940 air-raid. I asked her opinion on the excellence of various types of bombing. She did not entirely endorse the Polish Minister's opinion, but admitted that bombing was "effective". I informed her that the British Government was enthusiastic about this form of warfare, and that if she would make a statement in support, it would help the war-effort considerably.

"I suppose it's easy to be enthusiastic", she replied, "in a 60-foot shelter. We were under the stairs."

#### NEW MORALITY

IT is easy to talk of the collapse of a civilization; it is not so easy to realize what is involved in such a happening. The necessary process of discovering and establishing in act a new social morality to fill the vacuum left by the decay of the old one is frustrated by the mechanical repetition of familiar slogans. A radical revolution is required.

If you believe that this work, whereby pacifism may become a fully positive social creed, should be pushed forward and extended as soon as circumstances permit, you will become a regular contributor to the Fighting Fund.

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#### THE EDITOR

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We didn't want it. We can be honest here. My daughter can tell you my views."

I was introduced to her daughter, a pretty girl except that she had an arm and leg missing, but she burst into tears when I spoke to her. I learned, too, that the father was away applying for a temporary transfer to Hades, where he intended to wait till certain Cabinet Ministers arrived and tell them some things he had long wanted to tell them.

★

I returned to this office, and almost immediately heard a BBC news-reader telling of a raid on Germany in which "excellent results were observed". Again I packed my wings and hurried off to interview one of these excellent results, a military objective by the name of Werner Kraus, of Cologne.

"What is your occupation, Herr Kraus?" I asked.

"I am a munition worker", he replied, speaking with difficulty because of his nerves having been affected by the extensive injuries he had received.

"And what do you think of bombing?" I asked next.

"I was in the trenches all through the last war", he said. "Now I, and my family, are killed in our home. Does not that tell you enough of what I think of it?"

"But you must admit", I said, "that,

being a munition worker, you were a perfectly legitimate military objective."

Herr Kraus shrugged. "I had to live".

"But you didn't live, did you? You were killed". I thought that was rather clever.

"And if", said Herr Kraus, "I had been a maker of children's toys instead of a munition worker, would the bomb have missed me?"

★

But I had no time to argue, and Frau Kraus came along just then, her head swathed in bandages. When I spoke to her, she replied in that musical, soft voice common among southern German women.

"I do not hate you for bombing us", she said. "We are all deeply guilty in our souls. Those poor boys in the planes—on both sides—I am so sorry for them. They are so brave, and they do not know what they are doing". She was very gracious. I said I was sorry, too.

"And yet", she went on, "it is too late to be sorry. The world does not need sorrow. It needs people who will do something to stop all this".

"Of course", I said, "we do regret these things. But innocent people are bound to suffer. If our bombs could only single out Hitler and the guilty people, we should be only too glad. But night-bombing is bound to lack precision".

"I wonder!" she replied. "In North Africa, when a young man makes a precision attack upon a generally acknowledged war criminal, you execute the young man within 36 hours, do you not?"

I resented this, and launched a counter offensive. "The difference between us, of course—and it is a big difference—is that we only bomb civilians as a regrettable necessity; whereas your people bomb them as a deliberate policy. You do understand, don't you?"

"Yes", she said, with a beautiful, slow, sad smile, "I understand". I was afraid she did, and prepared to

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### "Armistice Now" Conference

A conference is to be held in the Friends' Meeting House, Bull St., Birmingham, tomorrow (Saturday) at 3 p.m., to examine the possibilities of securing an Armistice now. The speakers will be Rhys J. Davies, M.P., and the Rev Patrick Figgis.

The object of the conference is "to discuss the nature and advantages of an armistice, during which the common basis for an agreed peace settlement could be sought", says the letter sent by the Birmingham Council of the Peace Pledge Union, inviting other organizations to send representatives. It adds:

Many may say that this is no time to talk of armistice. May we suggest that this is the right time—the time when no-one could interpret it as a confession of weakness or defeatism?

We ask you to think of the millions of starving people in the German-occupied countries, the carnage in Russia, and the horrors of destruction contemplated on the unfortunate Italian people and their historic cities. We ask you to think also of the thousands upon thousands of casualties foreshadowed for our own people if a Second Front should be established in Europe.

We believe that, deep in their hearts, the peoples of the world long for peace now.

PERHAPS we should do well to take more seriously the German announcement some months ago that they were passing to the defensive. Not that we should accept their suggestion that they were doing so wholly of their own free will. Partly, they have been forced on to the defensive; but they are,

very likely, making a virtue of their necessity, not in the sense that they are pretending to do deliberately what they have been compelled to do, but in the sense that they have definitely given up the hope, which at one time they seemed perilously near to realizing, of knocking out the Russian army, by cutting it off from its absolutely essential supplies of oil.

That effort having failed, they may be settling down to the task of organizing Europe as a huge self-sufficient fortress. How far it really is self-sufficient, I do not know. The judgments of the experts are at variance on this matter.

#### Eastern Front Secure?

BUT it seems to me reasonable to suppose that the Germans believe that they can prevent Russia from recovering the bulk of the agricultural and industrial resources of the Ukraine; and that, in consequence, they have to deal with a Russia too vitally weakened to break into the European fortress from the East. About a fortnight ago it was announced that the 4,000th trainload of food-supplies had reached Germany from the Ukraine. That may have been a propaganda exaggeration; but it may also have been true.

At any rate, there seems to be no solid foundation for the belief that, owing to unrest and guerilla activity, Germany is getting nothing substantial from the Ukraine. Germany's gain is Russia's loss. And unless the second front upon the European mainland can be opened, it is quite possible that Russia will not have the economic strength to break through the German defence.

#### Strong U-Boat "Front"

MEANWHILE, Germany evidently counts on being able to prevent a second front on the European mainland. By far her most powerful weapon for this purpose is the U-boat. Exactly how serious is the destruction of the shipping of the United Nations is a close secret; but there is no doubt that it is very serious indeed. They speak more freely of this matter in USA, and the latest report from America is that one million tons a month are now being sunk (N. Chronicle, Jan. 22). That probably is exaggerated. Lord Winstone says:

Once again the shipping losses are increasing. American reports even speak of a million tons a month. At this rate we shall be reduced to immobility. We shall be able to bring nothing in and send nothing out (Mail, Jan. 25).

The most sanguine semi-official statement published lately is to the effect that the United Nations are building more ships than are sunk; but the Germans also are building more submarines than are sunk.

#### Shipping Tactics

IF we take that as the fact, it is difficult to derive much comfort from it. It is very far from meaning that we are within sight of replacing the vast amount of tonnage destroyed before new construction began to overtake losses. Perhaps at best there is now a plus margin of about 100,000 tons a month. But ships do not sail themselves. The continual loss of crews is humanly appalling and militarily very serious.

The possibility of a margin of disposable tonnage great enough to permit the opening of a second front upon the mainland of Europe would appear to be slight. And the Germans, by the success of their hasty concentration in Tunisia—a very re-

#### A Pacifist COMMENTARY Edited by OBSERVER

markable feat of improvisation—may be able to compel the United Nations to use the whole of their margin of shipping resources on maintaining the armies in N. Africa.

Lord Cranborne, in his official statement to the Lords on the war-situation (Jan. 19) said: "For the Axis the maintenance of Armies in so exposed a position as Tunisia constitutes a constant running sore." It may well be that the exact reverse is true; and that Tunisia is a running sore in the body of the United Nations.

#### Shield in Africa

THE latter anyhow is the opinion of the editor of the Evening Standard (Jan. 21). Mr. Michael Foot writes:

It is Rommel and Nehring now who are postponing a British assault on the Continent. Not many more than 150,000 men are holding at arm's length in Africa the flower of British and American strength, perhaps 900,000 men. The Tunis tip is a German shield wielded to gain precious time: time for recovery from the Russian offensive; time to fortify Europe; time to prepare for fresh adventures; time to hunt down the rebels of Europe and slaughter them in droves; time also for the conduct of the most menacing attack on the life of this nation since the Luftwaffe delivered the challenge of 1940.

The chances that the N. African campaign will be so much retarded as to make doubtful, if not impossible, the creation of a second front in Europe in 1943 are regarded as equally serious by The Times.

#### No Righteous Glamour

VICTORY in 1943 will almost certainly prove to be a mirage, even when we leave completely out of the account the difficulties of the second front itself. If we take so long over Tunisia, where the Germans had not established themselves at all, how long would we take to drive the Germans out of France? The assumption that there will be a great wave of revolution in France to aid us is rather naive: even in N. Africa things have not gone so smoothly. And Dr. Howard Kershner's evidence is incontrovertible. We are starving the children of France. Is it to be expected that the fathers and mothers of these emaciated children will be waiting to welcome us as deliverers?

I believe we have committed an irreparable moral crime, of which Peace News warned the nation at the time of the French collapse. We forgot that Europe is millions of human beings. By "blockading Europe" we condemned the ordinary folk of Europe to see very little difference between the Nazis and ourselves. The issue of the war, says Mr. Michael Foot, "depends on whether we have the imagination to stir a revolution in Europe by the righteous glamour of our cause". The food-blockade, I believe, has made that impossible.

#### Peace Candidate

MR. SAUNDERS LEWIS, the Welsh nationalist, is standing as candidate for the University of Wales, the seat once held by our own beloved George Llewellyn Davies, also a Welsh nationalist: though I am not sure whether George Davies and Saunders Lewis see eye to eye. I can judge Saunders Lewis only by his election address, which is near-pacifist, and by a very remarkable pamphlet, "Wales after the War", which

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## Honest Wolf

THE impasse in North Africa is a pertinent reminder of our strange condition. At a moment in human history when the confessed and crying need is that human affairs should be guided by men whose minds are set on peace, they are being handed over, with a new completeness, to men whose profession is war. At the precise moment when the military mind might well be judged obsolete it is becoming all-powerful.

To the detached mind, fuller mechanized warfare is itself a desperate contradiction. With the advent of power-production, the social discipline which was provided by organization for war (e.g. in the Roman Empire, or the feudal system), was enforced by the machinery of production itself. So that the chief sociological justification of war disappeared.

Yet it disappeared only to reappear in a new guise. For the new industrial society itself was hamstrung unless there could be generated a communal incentive strong enough to sweep away within the national society the obstacles to productivity: above all, the obsolete conceptions of property-rights, which had been transferred unchanged from a mercantile to an industrial society. Unfortunately, the only communal incentive which is in fact powerful enough for this work of demolition is the war-incentive: that is to say, community in fear and hatred.

Thus, at first sight, it would appear that war still has a sociological justification, because it is the only means by which certain necessary social, economic, and legal changes can be achieved. Accordingly, the optimists tell us that the present war is an unconscious but positive social revolution. Or, in a slightly more modest key, they say with Beveridge: the war has shown us how easily mass-unemployment can be abolished.

The more modest statement reveals the snag. For there were few, even among politicians, who did not know that organization as for war could abolish unemployment. The political problem was to abolish unemployment without adopting organization as for war: to abolish unemployment and retain a free society. Instead of solving that problem, we have passively embraced the solution which we refused actively to adopt. All the problems remain, unsolved, gathering new and explosive intensity.

No more than we knew in September, 1939, do we know now how to eliminate mass-unemployment except by organization as for war. And so it comes about, necessarily, that it is for a future society so organized that our masters and pastors are preparing the nation in the name of "freedom." They are not conscious hypocrites. They are performing their usual function of moralizing the general moral inertia. Archbishops, Field-Marschals, and statesmen vie with one another in dotting and gloating over the prospect of freedom through universal and illimitable conscription—for everything, from education onwards. For we are to have the privilege, if we win, of helping to provide the police force for the peace of the world. Under modern conditions that means war-regimentation for ever.

Thus, by the working of a natural law, the soldier more and more takes precedence over the statesman and the priest. In their current forms, they are all equally obsolete. But the soldier seems the most honest of the three. After all, he doesn't pretend to be interested in anything but war. And since, to the common man, war seems the only valid excuse for total regimentation, it is intelligible that he should prefer an honest wolf to a wolf in sheep's clothing. Nevertheless caveat oves. Let the sheep beware! An industrial society organized for war is a worse hell than mankind has ever yet endured.

## Cure of Souls

by  
OWLGLASS

WHILE it cannot be denied that war has lost its appeal as a popular sport, one may still hear its virtues as a cleanser of soiled souls and a healer of mental ills extolled in more cultured circles.

An instance of this was shown recently while the Brains Trust were discussing the means of eliminating criminal tendencies. Examples were given of how such tendencies can be eliminated by the diversion of the energies of anti-social persons into socially useful channels.

Mr. Leslie Howard gave the example of a man whose story, he said, was now being made into a film. This man had always been regarded as an incurable criminal and all attempts at reform had failed. But he joined the army—and lo! reformation like a flood.

He performed extraordinary deeds of daring and enterprise and became an example to all. His criminal tendencies, said Mr. Howard, seemed to be replaced by other motives and feeling such as "patriotism and hatred of the enemy."

IN this example of a man being cured of anti-social instincts by hatred, we have, I think what a psychologist would call Sublimation.

This is a process by which bad habits or tendencies are transformed by elevation to a higher plane of expression. In this case the man's antagonism to his own society was eliminated by being exported to another society.

If there were two psychologists the

other might call it liberating complexes by the release of suppressed desires. Anyway, both are good for you. The common everyday example of the latter is the man who, possessed by an unanalysed irritability, kicks the cat and feels better. Obviously, if you keep him provided with a constant supply of cats, he is safeguarded from serious neurosis.

In the same way, by permitting a criminal to indulge his proclivities in extenso, adding homicide to blackmail, house-burning to house-breaking, and mass mutilation to common assault, you free his psyche from such inhibitions as local police regulations were inflicting on the poor thing.

Just so might you cure a small boy of a neurotic urge to break your window by telling him to get to work on your neighbour's greenhouse. A method which I commend to the attention of educationists.

YOU may object that a man isn't cured of anti-social behaviour by simply letting him go on doing the same things on a grander scale. But that's where the Sublimation comes in.

In war, a man's private moral responsibility is merged into a thing called a National Conscience. You've heard of that; it comes in leading articles a lot. It's a kind of Nirvana, a plane of existence where the individual is absorbed into the Totality, and all attributes, purged of the interests of Self, become transmuted into their highest expression.

By this purifying process, activities which, when pursued for personal ends, are classed under what Chuzzle-

wit called "the generic title of Old Bailey," are transmuted into heroic enterprises and immortalized in films, and criminal tendencies are cured by receiving the sanction of the Law and the blessing of the Church.

And if that isn't Sublimation I don't know what is.

THE sublimating process does not, of course, always come off. I have in mind the sad case of an ex-prize fighter who was regarded as a dangerous character because he was always fighting and getting arrested for assault.

To everyone's surprise, when conscription reached his age group he appealed as a conscientious objector. "But you like fighting," said the astonished tribunal. "You're notorious as a fighter. How can you object to fighting the Huns?" To which the ex-pug replied:

"That's just it; I do like fighting. It's my old trade and now it's my hobby, and the rules of the game are the only rules I know. That's why I can't do this other thing."

You see, according to my rules, fighting means confining your attention to your opponent. But if I went to war with him I should have to do something quite different.

I should wait till he'd gone out, then break into his house and knock his wife about and smash his furniture and leave by the back door. And when I'd got home I'd probably find we'd passed on the way and he'd done the same to my lot.

I'm sorry, but I can't do that sort of thing. You match me against old Hitler or whoever's causing the trouble and I'll give him all I know, left and right. But I can't fight unless I can hit the right man. I suppose you can call it professional pride.

I think what was wrong in this case was that his criminal instincts weren't sufficiently developed, so there was nothing to Sublimate.

## COMMENTARY

a supporter of his has sent me. This is one of the best statements of a reasonable and necessary nationalism that I have read. From the election address I take the following:

I shall support principles that are the interest of every European, namely, the earliest possible termination of hostilities on the basis of the Five Peace Points formally adopted by the leaders of all the religious bodies of England and Wales, a peace of impartial justice to all nations and minorities, based on Christian principles. I should support such a peace. I hardly expect it. Passion and cupidity direct the politics of power. But I think the University of Wales ought to stand for a Christian peace.

## Pacifist Voter's Choice

THE Manchester Guardian (Jan. 23) reports Mr. Saunders Lewis's replies to questions from an audience at Aberystwyth. "A woman graduate asked him for whom she was to vote if she thought that the first duty of a candidate was to try to bring the war to a successful conclusion for the Allies. 'Any person who puts that first must vote against me,' said Mr. Lewis, 'because to be politically loyal to Wales is my first allegiance'."

"A Presbyterian minister asked him: 'To put it honestly and bluntly, you are against the war?' Mr. Lewis replied: 'I am against any war and so, I hope, is every sane person. I have never known of any decent soldier who was not against war.' He believed that if the war went on for a long time, most of Europe would be completely indifferent about the result."

Though I observe that at least one distinguished pacifist has signed the address of Professor W. J. Griffith, it seems to me that the concluding sentence of his address leaves the pacifist no option. Here it is: "I am convinced that Britain is now fighting for its very life, and that a decisive victory over Germany and its satellites is essential not only to our efforts for social and moral amelioration but to our very existence, whether we are Welsh or English."

## Sabotage in India

WE should not be unmindful of the difficulties of the Government in India. A patently unbiased narrative of experiences in relief-work after the devastating cyclone in Bengal in October last appears in The Friend, Jan. 22. The writer, Alec Horsfield, a member of the FAU, says: "The storm did not bring tragedy to this land: it was there already, in the relentless struggle between the forces of the Crown and Congress saboteurs". One is excusably sceptical concerning accusation of sabotage brought against Congress by the Government: but there is the testimony of a most friendly witness, which certainly appears to corroborate the official news of widespread sabotage, particularly in the province of Bengal.

The Government has decided to make shipments of wheat to India. The Government of India insists that the shortage is mainly due "to the hoarding of stocks by producers, dealers and consumers alike"—the first and third for fear, the second for gain; but it does not suggest that Congress has inspired the hoarding. The New Statesman (Jan. 23) reports that a general order has been given to troops to fire without warning upon food-rioters. That is unpardonable.

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## Plea for Refugees

THE Archbishops of Canterbury, York, and Wales have issued a joint statement calling upon the Government to declare its readiness to co-operate in finding an immediate asylum for Jewish refugees.

"They believe it is the duty of civilized nations, whether neutral or allied, to exert themselves to the utmost possible extent to provide a sanctuary for these victims. They therefore urge the Government of the United Kingdom to give a lead to the world by declaring its readiness, in consultation with the Dominion Governments, to co-operate with the Governments of the united and neutral nations in finding an immediate refuge within the British Empire, as well as elsewhere, for all persons threatened with massacre who can escape from Axis lands."

## The New Statesman

I NOTE that the New Statesman (Jan. 23) has changed its tune about N. Africa. The belated illumination seems to have come through M. Pierre Mailland's article in the N. Chronicle (Jan. 15) which I quoted last week. "In Algeria," now admits our hitherto root-and-branch contemporary, "even our de Gaulle friends are by no means synonymous with democrats". But it does not think of apologizing for the clamour it raised week after week over the appointment of Darlan. Its thinking is still radically vitiated by the mistaken assumption that all Frenchmen who supported Vichy are bad Frenchmen and pro-Germans. The arrival of the word "Fascism" on the scene has, for ten years or more, dispensed the Left from the necessity of thought.

The New Statesman has not become any wiser: it has merely recognized that the democratic purge in N. Africa which it has ardently advocated is just impossible. It might profitably (as Professor Hogben suggests in a letter) turn its attention to a democratic purge at the other end of the African continent—and see how far it gets.

## ADVISORY BUREAUX

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Brighton (covering Hove, Portslade, Rottingdean and Saltdean).—R. Gerald Darby, 45 York Rd., Hove.

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West Wickham individual adviser.—Ernest O. Abrey, 33 Silver Lane, West Wickham.

Whitechapel (covering E.1 and E.C.8) individual adviser.—Charles F. Carter, London Hospital Students' Hostel, Philpot St., E.1.

## CYRIL HUGHES

(Continued from page 1)

leave. But on my way out she gave me a printed text, with the words:

*By their fruits shall ye know them.*

On my return I immediately took the next astral plane and went to see another English family who had been tipped and runned in an East Coast town. All the pieces of the father had not yet been found, and the son and daughter were so terribly mutilated that they did not like to appear before strangers.

I spoke to the lady of the house, who had only bled to death from a severed limb. When I commiserated with her she started to tell me, in a monotonous voice, what it felt like to bleed to death.

"Very interesting," I said, "but, you see, blood isn't news nowadays".

"Blood isn't news!" she repeated, and I didn't like the way she said it. I told her that her country was proud of her, and that everyone knew the British could take it.

"Yes," she said. "They always say that. But they always ask those who just missed it, not those like us who really took it. The living are afraid of the dead, afraid of what we mean and of what we might say."

I assured her that the Germans were getting it worse than we ever had it, and told her about the Kraus family.

"It's no use trying to make me hate now," she said. "No number of dead Germans can bring us back to life. I hated like the rest, once. Fear made us hate, and blinded our minds. But now we have no fear, and we can realize the love that is in us, the love that we never used and that could have done so much. Oh, when will you poor living people stop crucifying each other, when you need each other so much?"

Disappointed I made for the door. As I left, she said, "I think I will go and see Frau Kraus. I should like to apologize to her, and comfort her. I think we shall find lots of things to talk about."

I regret to have to report similar experiences from interviews with citizens of Warsaw, Rotterdam, Paris, Naples, Turin, and other places. Nowhere was the Polish Minister's opinion of bombing confirmed. Nowhere could I find any hate (except for a few incoherent splutters from a deceased member of the Carlton Club who had not yet recovered from his last earthly binge).

The dead are deplorably lacking in patriotism and national fervour. They seem to be striving instead towards some form of supernatural, supernatural, extra-mundane, anarchic socialism. No doubt this will ultimately be made one of our war-aims. We have a right to make it so, even though it is not of this world, because by the time the war is over it is probable that more of our people will be there than here.

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## WORDS OF PEACE — 5

## How the Kingdom Comes

**H**UMANITY in one's own person and in the person of others is always to be treated as an end and not as a means only. So soon as this principle has taken root we may say the Kingdom of God is come on earth...

One can say with certainty that the Kingdom of God has come to us when anywhere is found openly established the principle of the gradual transformation of the Church faith into a universal rational religion, although the complete realization of this Kingdom still be infinitely far from us; because in this principle, as in the developing and then multiplying germ, is contained all which must enlighten and take possession of the world.

Immanuel Kant.

## Letters to the Editor

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 250 words.

## Recalling the Left

**I**T is not so much that we should try to convert the Left, as I. Wavemy Girvan says in your issue of Jan. 15, but rather that we should try to recall the Left.

That is what many of us have been trying to do ever since the war began. For our pains we have been openly dubbed fascists by the communists, suspected of a lack of realistic political insight by our ILP friends (because we are pacifists first), regarded as people who are letting down democracy and freedom by the Labour Party, and, from the Right, looked upon as downright traitors to the British cause by those Tories and Liberals who support the Churchill Government and the war. In addition, because we believe that any peace is better than any war, and that only a state of no-war can give us an opportunity to work out any comprehensive political policy which would contain promise of a lasting peace, we are considered as prospective recruits by any group which arises or may arise anywhere at any time with proposals to bring the war to an end, in such a group's own interests.

Yet all this must not dismay or daunt us, for what depends on us can hardly be over emphasized. What to do, then? The Labour Party is pacifist by tradition. Twice already in its short life it has adopted absolute pacifism as its policy, in its national conferences. The 1914-18 war and the Spanish war were too much for it, and through fear it abandoned pacifism. Its leaders took us into this war through fear of fascism, not seeing that they themselves were much to blame for not insisting, after Munich, that the method of conference should be continued incessantly, with themselves as parties to the conferences.

Our job now, growing harder every day, is the recall of the Labour Party to its own basic philosophy. If we can preserve even a remnant of conscious and courageous pacifism in the party, we shall see again our policy become its policy. Of course some other crises in the future may again be too much for it. But sometime, if the Labour Party lives, it will survive a crisis with the courage of its convictions unbroken. That will be the end of all war. And anything else will sooner or later be the end of the Labour Party.

B. W. SIDWELL

114 Regent St., Nelson.

## Faith and Delusion

John Middleton Murry tells those pacifists who believe in the effectiveness of political action at present that they are suffering from delusions, whereas his own belief in a vague "something better" he claims to be a faith; and faith, he says, would not be faith if it were sure of success.

If by "effective" he means stopping the war, I suggest that few pacifists, if any, believe in such a result from their actions, but may well believe that political activity with that end in view is, perhaps, the first step towards "something better" in the future.

If all political action in support of social reforms and changes to "something better" had been delayed until there was certainty of success, no progress would ever have been made. In fact, political agitators also have their faith, and have lived, worked, and died only to hand on the torch, believing, as I do, in the ultimate reasonableness of man.

It appears, however that one man's faith may be another man's delusion.

SYBIL MORRISON

Redcap, Greenstreet Green, Farnborough, Kent.

## The Value of Pacifism

By JOHN LLOYD SILK

**A** PACIFIST writer in pessimistic mood has written that "One of the clearest and most insistent facts is the almost complete failure of the pacifist movement."

This negative attitude of pacifists in discounting their own value in the light of the impression which the movement is able to make on the general outlook of society is unfortunate. For such pacifists undermine the very foundations of pacifism which are inherent in their own nature.

The value of pacifism is not to be found in its success or failure to convert non-pacifists. Providing that the believer guards his own conduct so that it constantly conforms with his belief, and providing that he is prepared to expound his beliefs either by word or action if circumstances are suitable, then pacifism's failure or success is the responsibility of those who will or will not accept the truth which is set before them.

\* \* \*

For pacifism should not be confused with mere views, opinions, or politics. Pacifism is not a prejudice but an understanding of life. Right understanding cannot be imposed on people; its appeal is dependent upon right understanding arising within themselves.

In other words, right understanding can only be given the opportunity to come to life. But if this latent understanding in the people is too inhibited by self-interest, it will not rise in response to opportunity.

The pacifist's real worth is not to be measured by the response of the world to what he believes but by the fact that he is a sufficiently integrated person to fulfil his duty to Life as opposed to the mere fulfilment of self-interest, either communal or individual. The tragedy of life is not to be found in the dreadful things men suffer but in the ignorance of the men who can impose such suffering on their fellows.

\* \* \*

That men die and suffer is a horrible thing, but that men impose death and

suffering is the real horror. For through death and suffering the victim may overcome life and death through right understanding, along with the martyrs. But by the practice of violence the perpetrator binds himself and his fellows more firmly to suffering and death.

It is in this way that the pacifist is his own justification. The world may not allow him to remove effects as he would wish to, and it may appear not to listen to him. But he has already fulfilled the greater task of removing causes within his own nature.

Though compassion for his fellow men may prompt him to make earnest efforts to persuade them, he has no right to doubt his duty to life because of impatience at his failure to achieve, in the present, the complete end he envisages. Better that he should detach his attention from ends, work "righteousness for righteousness' sake," and trust to life that the understanding which is his already, and which he expresses, may at the right time find its counterpart in the minds of other men.

\* V. Wilson. "The Cold Wind of Truth." PN. June 5, 1942.

## REVIEWS

German Industry on the Warpath, 1860-1939. By Bernhard Menne. Hutchinson, 1s.

In a short preface to this book Mr. John Brown writes that "it shows how a united people have for eighty years laboured patiently to build up an industrial system designed for the purpose of foreign conquest... which culminated in... a debauch of brutish, sadistic crime impossible to imagine as the acts of a people laying claim to civilized instincts and conduct."

The implication seems obvious, so let it be said at the outset that this book is all Jekyll and no Hyde. It links the capitulation of the industrial democracies with "the brilliant success which attended the power-politics of the State." It illustrates the sinister influence of the heavy industries and of the military bureaucracy. It shows how the uneconomic structure of German heavy industry has been furthered by war, and how the industrialists have maintained an ascendancy through both victory and defeat.

Unfortunately Mr. Menne gives no indication of any solution he may have in mind. He makes little attempt to relate German politics to the European scene but, within this limitation, he traces the interplay of military and industrial interests with dexterity. By isolating the German problem however, he contrives to show it as distinct from the European problem of using beneficently the productive power of the machine. His book will do good in so far as it shows to its readers the necessity for finding a useful outlet for the legitimate capacities of the German heavy industry and for the energies of the German people. Mr. Menne himself has a brave record of anti-Nazi activity both within Germany and without: until he makes known his remedy it is not possible to say whether he understands the problem as clearly as he sees its component parts.

\* \* \*

The Bases of Civilization. By G. Stephens Spinks, Essex Hall Bookroom, Essex St., W.C.2. 6d.

This little booklet, which says what the author feels about religion and civilization, expresses also what is probably the fundamental philosophy of the majority of his fellow-pacifists today—certainly, of those who are members of the PPU.

With simplicity and directness he presents the tendency of humanity to depart from its basic beliefs of the past, and to march mechanically into "the new Dark Ages of ruthless planning and merciless order." Plans, parties, and institutions, says the author, are swamping human personality and ideals. Mass movements are doing the world to death. Civilization can only be saved by individuals believing in individuals; by cells of good living preserving freedom in a regimented order.

A clear statement for every one to read, re-read, and remember. R.F.R.

\* \* \*

The Jan.-March Adelphi (now published from Lodge Farm, Theinetham, nr. Diss: 1s. 6d.) is full of various and interesting material. There are reviews of Ellis Roberts's "Life of Dick Sheppard", Max Plowman's "The Right to Live", and Eric Gill's "Last Essays", by Laurence Housman, Hugh I.A. Fausset, and Richard Murry respectively. Articles of very immediate concern to thinking pacifists are "National Socialism and the Pacifist", by Bill Grindlay; "Conscription for Children", by J. Hampden Jackson—a radical criticism of the new educational proposals; and "The New Violence", by J. Middleton Murry. Ethel Mannin contributes a vivid survey of "Contemporary Irish Fiction".

"Every man feels instinctively that all the beautiful sentiments in the world count less than a single lovely action."—Ruskin.

**T**HE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

**I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.**

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

**PPU HEADQUARTERS,**  
Dick Sheppard House,  
6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

## A Treasurer's "Thank You"

**I** HAVE been asked by my fellow Treasurer and by the Executive Committee to thank all PPU members and supporters for getting us out of a hole during the last few weeks. We were in a real hole and, but for the splendid backing of our people, that hole by this time would have deepened. You have succeeded in extricating us!

I will deal first with the results of the Dick Sheppard House appeal. The total receipts up to Dec. 31 amounted to £4,406. 18s., which, after liquidating the bank debt of £4,100 and paying the costs of the appeal, leaves a balance of £277. 2s. 4d., which will form the nucleus of a Reserve Fund. This will be necessary to provide for repairs, redecoration, and so on.

Groups still owe £305, all of which may be deemed "good." Money, too, is still coming in to this fund and I have learnt this morning that a further sum of £120 has been received to date.

## TRANSFER TO "CO-OP"

It is proposed to transfer the balance of £227, and any other sums that may subsequently be contributed, from Barclay's Bank to the Co-operative Wholesale Bank. This will earn 2½ per cent. interest on a six-months' notice, or 2½ per cent. on a seven days' notice, whereas none of the other "Big Five" banks pays any interest at all. It is also proposed to pay monies accruing to our General Fund into the Co-op Bank.

Our estimates, based on relevant figures for 1941-42, led us to believe that by the end of 1942 we should have no money whatever to pay wages and ordinary bills. As I write we have £640 in hand, and when all current liabilities have been met that will mean £449 to the good. Of this it is proposed to transfer £245 to the interest-yielding account, leaving £205 in hand for ordinary expenditure. This, with the customary revenue which accrues from month to month, ought to be sufficient to pay our way.

## THANKS TO YOU!

This has been made possible by a rise in ordinary and special contributions from £78 in November to £440 in December. At this point I would urge all groups to give to the utmost extent of their power, and I would beg all Area Treasurers to remit at once unpaid December accounts and to continue to pay their "dues" as promptly as possible. Only by this means shall we continue to keep our heads above water.

My co-treasurer, James H. Hudson, and myself, together with the National Executive Committee, want to thank all PPU members and friends (and to thank God for putting it in your hearts) for your magnificent effort in raising the purchase fund for the memorial to our revered leader, and also for the way in which all sections, groups, and individuals have pulled together to enable us to become really solvent once again.

For we were on the actual verge of bankruptcy!

And Dick Sheppard House now belongs to the PPU!

ALFRED SALTER

The first Peace News pamphlet

## Muslims of India and the Muslim League

by Howard Whitten

Now obtainable only from the PPU Bookshop, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Price 1d. (post free 2d.)

If you have not had information about Peace News pamphlets, ask your local distributor.

LETTERS (Continued from page 3)

Causes of War

MR. ASHWORTH asserts that nationalism is not a cause of war, and he suggests instead that economic strains become apparent at frontiers; but surely it is nationalism that produces both the apparen- cy and the frontiers. If Surrey and Middlesex were sovereign countries, there would be inculcated within each of them a species of patriotic national- ism involving political tension be- tween inhabitants of the two regions, after which, if a Brentford man were murdered in Guildford, Surreyites would march against Middlesex, whether economic strains were ap- parent or not. Mr. Ashworth is, however, correct in reminding us that bigger political units may mean big- ger wars. That is why nothing less than World Federation would ensure international concord; the surrender of sovereignty must be universal.

Doubtless politics and economics may intertwine, but it is political issues that are utilized to create pop- ular war mentality (without which modern international wars could not be waged). Trade statistics and blocked credits mean nothing to the multitudes, but "aggression" and "de- fence" are intelligible to all.

JOHN NIBB

BM/JONIB, W.C.1.

"The Goal"

The editorial in Peace News of Jan. 8 is distressing to at least one reader insofar as it represents a point of view which is more inclined to mislead than to help young pacifists. After some experience of living with pacifists I have been driven to conclude that we are, most of us, quite unready for any type of community life. I have been forced to conclude that, as the world is now, we must either create the "World State", in which national independence will cease to exist in the one great whole of mankind, or face more and even more destructive wars to the ultimate extinction of human civiliza- tion. It therefore seems that the next step must be the "World State" and the respon- sibility will rest with pacifists as much as with non-pacifists to see that it is a step forward.

Some of us have faced up to the situation in what we believe to be a realistic way and have come to appreciate the great importance of economics in the spiritual life of man. Man may not be able to live by bread alone, but it is tolerably certain that he cannot live without it. Perhaps we do not all under- estimate the enormous difficulties to be faced in changing the economic organization of the world, but we do believe that the creation of "a society of inward and outward peace" is quite impossible until the changes are effected.

D. WRIGHT

81 Hyde Rd., Little Yeldham, Essex.

Scores of occasions have there been when Peace News and its erstwhile political-economic platform has irritated the writer to a ridic- ulous degree. He says "ridiculous" advisedly, for he might have had more faith in that certainty which has now been evinced... your return to real, living, fundamental factors. Your recent leader, "The Goal", is as pertinent a piece of pacifist print as could now be published, for it "speaks to" all our respective conditions. The writer, for one, offers very grateful thanks.

He has known scores of pacifists—at religious gatherings; at political meetings; as dear friends doing diverse types of work; in prisons; in community; some wealthy, others poor; religious and rational—and he loves many. Yet, it is true that not a few are seemingly "once removed" from reality in that too many abstracts are blamed for our sorry state. The future peace of the world has only one home... within one's own heart.

REG. BAXTER

411 Waterloo Rd., Blackpool.

Help for Jews

Will readers of Peace News write to their MP and the Government calling on them to take prompt action in an endeavour to save the Jews? Both Harold Laski and the New Statesman have suggested practical ways and means.

I feel we should all offer definitely and in- dividually to take in at least one Jew so rescued, and that without pausing to count the cost to ourselves. As the New Statesman points out, if we saw a child fleeing from a murderer we would without hesitation open our doors to it.

EDITH TRILTON

Shepherds Corner, Ringmer, Lewes.

I was much disappointed in the notice of "Let my people go", by Victor Gollancz, ap- pearing in Commentary, Jan. 15. The most important part of it, the practical proposals for dealing with Hitler's massacre of the Jews, is ignored. Gollancz does give a section to an account of atrocities but we are asked to read them in the constructive spirit of "What can I do to help?" not in a mood of mere fruitless revenge.

Suggestions are made as to ways in which ordinary people can do something to help, and I hope the pamphlet will be widely read.

(Miss) BARBARA VINE

71 Kidmore End Rd.,

Emmer Green, Reading.

Pacifism and Politics

THOUGH I feel that M. G. Hamlyn did contribute something (PN, Dec. 25) more valuable and stimulat- ing than is usual in these discussions, I wonder how far his thesis can really be maintained.

When pacifists are faced with the question "What do you think ought to be done now?", they are liable to offer answers suggesting courses of action which they consciously or uncon- sciously know cannot be carried out. I do not see how they can claim much moral value for this. Not because the policy they advocate is a bad one, or because its results would, if it were carried out, not be preferable to what we all shall actually have to put up with; but because, like Home Secretaries who offer modified de- fences of the Empire and suggest a post-war pooling of world resources, they indulge in what is mainly wish- fulfilment.

To suggest that hostilities should forthwith cease at our initiative may be desirable, even if it means surrender, which perhaps now it does not. Certainly, if we mean it uncondi- tionally, it does mean surrender, and at the stage the war has now reached (as distinct from, say, 1940) that is a solution highly unlikely to be accepted by any but the tiniest of minorities—which is tantamount to saying that it will not actually happen. If we mean to offer a conditional armistice, I agree that the conditions should be such as to offer hope all round, and not merely for ourselves and our allies, whatever the subsequent difficulties may be; and I see no reason to think it either desirable or moral not to expect difficulties, however successful our good intentions may be. But, if our conditions are refused (a more likely hypothesis than some), what then? Why, it seems even Middleton Murry himself thinks we should announce our intention to go on bombing Germany until his conditions are accepted. I say nothing against his con- ditions. I only ask, is he fairly to be ac- cused of hiding behind the back of the RAF?

I do not expect anything very good of "complete victory" or much prospect of achieving it. But it seems to me that in ad- vocating any policy, one has to take into ac- count not only what abstractly ought to be done, but also what it appears can be done. That this creates difficulties for pacifists I do not doubt. That it is merely bourgeois op- portunism I do take leave to doubt.

M. GAYTON

Bourton Grange, Flax Bourton.

NEWS OF C.O.s

Bernard Wellsbury, drafted overseas last February when resisting service in the RAF, and court-martialled in India for maintaining his refusal, is back in this country, having been drafted to an RAF unit in the Home Counties. By an exceptional concession he is soon to appear before an advisory tribunal.

After giving at least nine sentences of twelve weeks' imprisonment since September to COs refusing medical examination (this sentence not qualifying them to apply again to the Appellate Tribunal), Croydon justices on Jan. 19 gave a sentence of four months' hard labour in each of two cases. The COs concerned were T. W. Matton and Ernest Griffin, who was represented by a solicitor who gave legal argument against the practice of giving disqualifying sentences.

A second prosecution of a CO for failure to enrol for Home Guard duties when directed to do so by the Ministry of Labour has occurred, Frank Pickles, of Laneslaw Bridge, being sentenced on Jan. 11 to a fine of £5 with the alternative of fourteen days' imprisonment. He elected to go prison. Frank Pickles's name had been removed from the Register of COs by the local tribunal at Man- chester, and his appeal had been dismissed.

Two officials of the Birmingham PPU Coun- cil—Lilla Tansley, its secretary, and Constance Braithwaite, treasurer—were charged at Bir- mingham on Jan. 18 with refusing to comply with a direction of the Ministry of Labour.

Lilla Tansley, in evidence, said she had vol- untarily given up her job at the outbreak of war, was now doing work which had no con- nection with the war, and had informed the Minister of Labour that she did not intend to comply with the order. She was sentenced to 21 days' imprisonment. Constance Braith- waite read, in evidence, a letter which she had sent to the Minister of Labour last May, in which she said she did not intend to regis- ter under the order. She was given the option of a £5 fine or 21 days' imprisonment.

Dr. Archie Lamont, a well-known Scottish Nationalist, who is a Lecturer in Geology at Birmingham University, has been exempted from military service by the London Appel- late Tribunal (Div. 1) on condition that he continues to do scientific research work. His statement to the tribunal consisted of 27 closely typed pages, and he obligingly sup- plied an A to Z index, which began with Aaron and ended with Zephaniah. Over a hundred authorities were quoted.

DAME

SYBIL THORNDIKE

will give a Poetry Reading at

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on

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Collection for the Hungerford Club

Shall These Children Live or Die?

FOOD relief has been vigor- ously discussed in the cor- respondence columns of The Times. Following his letter in the Sunday Times (Jan. 17), Dr. Howard Kershner launched an attack in The Times, Jan. 21.

Arguing that by blockade "you can only starve your friends" and that "we ought to save what is left of the children of the occupied countries," he added:

As a trial I plead for a shipment of 3,000 tons of food to Marseilles, enough to provide for another year for the 100,000 children in Southern France whom we have been helping for more than two years. We have the food and the money, and neutral ships not available for the war effort will transport it. The International Red Cross will supervise distribution as in Greece, and our own non-American staff of 140 workers in Southern France will feed it to the child- ren. All we need is permission to send it.

Another Times letter the same day, from the chief officer of the British Paediatric Association, appealed for support for the proposals of the Famine Relief Committee.

Next day, Jan. 22 Lord Noel-Buxton and the officers of the Post-War Committee, Save the Children Fund, wrote "to associate itself in the closest possible way with this plea." From their own inquiry just completed, into conditions of children in Occupied Europe they added "that starvation is more wide- spread, and even more terrible, than the writers, afraid perhaps of being accused of exaggeration, have stated."

They pointed out that "it is the children of the workers who suffer most grievously" since "the workers, often out of work because they will not work for Germany and there-

fore dare not register for relief... cannot afford to buy on the black market. Sometimes indeed, they cannot afford to buy even the meagre rations to which they are entitled."

Following are further extracts from Dr. Kershner's letter in the Sunday Times of Jan. 17.

Every credit is due to the Allied Govern- ments for sending food to Greece. I hope that the proposals that have been made for sending milk and vitamins to the child- ren of Belgium, Holland, and Norway will be approved. Other countries also need help, but we should not refrain from saving some of the children in the five above- mentioned countries just because there seems to be no practical way at present to help the others.

The Germans have never interfered with our work. We have never lost a mouthful of food. Neither have the small amounts which we have brought into France enabled the Germans to take any more of French food stocks. Up until last summer, at any rate, they were not taking from Unoccupied France as much food as the terms of their armistice provided for—because they could not find it in sufficient quantity anywhere to make it profitable to take. The fact that we had a little food somewhere in a colony of children or were feeding a few children in some of the city schools did not make any greater accumulation of French food anywhere that they could seize. It only meant that these children were eat- ing instead of starving.

INDIA and her MUSLIMS

Second in a Series of Lunch Hour Lectures at 1.15 p.m. on WED., FEBRUARY 3

At Trade Union Club, 61, Newport St., W.C.2.

LIONEL FIELDEN

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FOR ALL properties to be let or sold in N.W. London and Districts, apply to McCraith and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9888, 8 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

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KINGSLEY HALL (Bow, E.3) urgently needs second-hand single bed or divan (good condition). Offers please.

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BOOKS loaned to C.O.s on land etc; with- out obligation. Write for list Marshall, 21 Wheatlands Drive, Bradford, Yorks.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends. free on applica- tion to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London. N.W.1.

MEETINGS, &c

EX-PRISON C.O.s invited to breakfast meet- ing, Sun., Jan. 31, 8.30 a.m., 1 Endsleigh St. Bring food; tea provided. Speaker, John Barclay.

LIBERTARIAN Movement. Every Sun., 6 p.m., the Anarchist Forum at Dick Sheppard Club, Binney St., Oxford St., W. Lectures, questions, and discussion. Admission free.

MABEL RITCHIE (soprano), Norina Sem- ino (cello), Norman Franklin (piano); Sun., Jan. 31, 2.45 p.m. at Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1, in aid of Friends War Relief Ser- vice. Tickets 2s. from Friends House (Eus- ton 2747), and at door.

NORTH LONDON Region Monthly Break- fast, Sun., Feb. 7, 8.30 a.m. Edmonton Inde- pendent Church Hall, Knights Lane, N.9. Special welcome home to Herbert Moore.

PERSONAL

INTRODUCTIONS by post between pacifists, progressives, and other PN readers. Profits for Peace. Stamp brings particulars. Box 554 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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CHARTERED ACCOUNTANT requires ad- ditional clerk, some knowledge of book-keep- ing essential. Salary £3/4 per week. Burston, 6 King Sq., Bridgewater.

COMPETENT shorthand-typist, with know- ledge of filing required for pacifist office. Young woman C.O. preferred. Write stating age, qualifications, and salary required, with photograph if possible. Box 703 PN, 3 Black- stock Rd., N.4.

DOMESTIC HELP, full time, required to run small North-west London flat for expect- ant mother. Box 688 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

HOSPITAL Secretary would be glad to hear of men requiring porter's employment in a London hospital. £3 10s. non-resident or £2 with board and resident, 48-hour work- ing week. Write Box 710 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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PACIFIST, 53, married, seeks situation as gardener with cottage. Kent, Surrey, or Sussex preferred. Box 705 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PRINTING MACHINIST, C.O., uncondi- tional, desires change of position. Worked 2- rev. autos, Wharfedales, Heidelbergs, Victorias, etc. Box 707 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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MISCELLANEOUS

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J. McGOVERN, M.P. TREVOR WILLIAMS

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